

The First Japanese Teacher in the Land of Rus' Denbei : Shipwrecked Seafarer

——おろしやの國の最初の日本語の教師 伝兵衛：漂着した船乗り——

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要約 (resumé)

五代将軍綱吉の治世元禄八年(1698)の暮れに、大阪を江戸へと西風に帆を上げた伝兵衛乗組みの「江戸船」は、にわかには吹き起こった西北の風にたちまち舵を碎かれ、逆巻き荒れ狂う波に翻弄されて北へ北へ吹き流されて行った。帆柱を切り倒す時に二人が波に呑まれた。半年後に、カムチャツカの南の岸にたどり着いた伝兵衛ら十三人は土民に襲われた。すでに壊血病で盲いていた二人の船子(かこ)は、その場で撲殺されて、伝兵衛ら十人は、土民に捕われの身となった。

最後にただ一人生き残った伝兵衛は、カムチャツカを探検中のコサックの首領アトラソフに助けられた。酷寒と炎熱のおろしやの國の二万里の旅を生き抜いた伝兵衛は、元禄十四年の師走にモスクワに入った。

明けて元禄十五年一月八日に伝兵衛は時の君主ピョートル大帝に拝謁した。時にピョートル(よわい)三十、身長二メートル四センチ、体重百三十五キロ、この剛勇無双、英邁な君主は優れた船大工でもあった。

「黒い髪をして、ちょび髭をたくわえた痩せぎすのギリシャ人の様な男」に心を動かされたピョートルは、遭難の顛末、日本の国の事どもを事細かに伝兵衛に問いただした。

日本への道を模索していたピョートルは、この翌年(1703)に海に開かれた都ペテルブルグをネヴァの河畔に建設する。後にピョートルは、その死の三ヶ月前にベーリングに訓令して(1724・十二月)、オホーツクから日本へ海路を探らせることになる。

ロシアに「西欧への窓」を開いたピョートルは、伝兵衛に「日本への窓」を見た。伝兵衛は三年半、おろしや言葉を学んだ後に、洗礼を受けてガブリエルと名を変えた。黒い目のロシア人となった伝兵衛は、寛永二年(1705)ペテルブルグに創設された日本語学校で、ムスコビア(莫斯科未亜)の子弟に日本の言葉を教えるロシア最初の日本語の教師となった。十年後正徳四年(1724)、カムチャツカに流れ着いた松前の三右衛門が伝兵衛の助手となった。伝兵衛と三右衛門は、折り合いが悪かったという。

「蝦夷近国より漂流仕候もの、リュス國(按ずるに魯西亜國またリュス國とも称す)に留置、日本言葉稽古仕候風説、本国より申越候」(天命元年(1781)七月『和蘭風説書』)(通航一覧 第248)^{fn.1}。

fn. 1. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971. p. 36. & 新村出「伊勢漂民の事蹟」『新村出全集』第六巻：南蛮紅毛篇Ⅱ 昭48, p. 298.

1. Denbei's Japan

In 1637 burst out the Shimabara revolting upheaval (島原の乱) of Christian peasants, which was narrowly put down by the Tokugawa Shogunate force, and Christianity was strictly banned with a penalty of burning death on the stake.

The Tokugawa Shogunate Monarchy banished the Portuguese out of the country because they had helped the Shimabara (島原) revolutionaries, and in 1639 (寛永十六年) the Tokugawa Monarchic Government closed the door of the country to the overseas trades^(fn.2) with the result that building of a big seafaring ship was legally banned, and only a junk of less than 50 tons was permitted to build for a commuting voyage along the mainland coast.^{fn.3.}

Junks of undersized and fragile structure in their hazardous shuttling voyage mostly between Osaka and Edo, Shogunate capital, were often shipwrecked and sometimes were drifted away north-eastward as far as to the Kurile and the Aleutian Islands or to the Kamchatka Peninsula.^{fn.4.}

Few of the crew who had survived thirst, hunger and despair in the stormy ocean might have made a narrow escape to an uninhabited or a sparsely populated forlorn island of the northern sea or to a peninsula in the arctic ocean.^{fn.5.}

2. Denbei's Ordeal : Shipwreck and Survival (1)

Denbei 伝兵衛 was born in the city of 'Osakka' in the Island of Japan. The capital of Japan was 'Meako' (京都), and at 150 vërst 露里 (160 kilometers) away from 'Osakka.' (or 'Uzaka' [大阪]). There lived a tycoon of this island, and he was called 'Dajin-Sama' (内裏様). Denbei's father was 'Diasa' (or Disa) (治三 or 治左), a merchant, and he was employed by "Awaszhiya's son, Matawin" (Russ. "Imenem Avaszhiya syna Matavina" = Named Awaszhiya's son Matavin) (淡路屋又兵衛?) and was duly made chief clerk in the Awaszhiya firm. Denbei had

fn. 2. Four successive Edicts of Self-Enclosure (鎖国令：寛永10年 (1633), 34, 35, & 39) culminated in the complete Self-Enclosure in 1641 (寛永18年), when the Dutch Trading House at Hirato village (平戸) was demolished and transferred to the Outpost Islands of Nagasaki (長崎の出島).

(鳴海健太郎「下北半島の漂流船と漂流民の運命—鎖国体制下における世界史上の様相—」『北海道地方史研究』vol. 67 (1968), p. 3. (1-24 pp.).

fn. 3. L.N. Kutakov, *Rossiia i Yponiya*, (Russia and Japan) 1988. p. 53. & p. 54.

fn. 4. 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 67 & p. 159. also in E.Ya. Fainberg, "Yapontsy v Rossii v Periode Samoizolyatsuii Yaponii: Iz Istorii Vozniknoveniya Russko-Yaponskikh Otnoshenii 1697-1852 gg.," (The Japanese in Russia in the Period of Self-Isolation of Japan: From History of the Beginning of Russo-Japanese Relations in 1697-1852) *Yaponiya: Voprosy Istorii*, (Japanese: Problems of History), M., 1959, p. 226. Quoted in 『ロシア・ソビエトにおける日本語研究』(Trans. by 下瀬川 et. al., 1988) p. 5. & p. 177 (Bibolio., Nr. 214.); Also in 高野明「日露関係史のあけぼの」『露西亜学事始』1982, p. 300.

fn. 5. 亀井高孝『大黒屋光太夫』昭和39 (1964), p. 13.

a wife and two sons.

In 1695 (元禄八年) in the reign of 5th Tokugawa Shogunate, Tsunayoshi, 綱吉 Denbei boarded as crew of fifteen an 'Edovni' ship (江戸船) in a fleet of 30 ships.

The fragile 'Edovni' ship was five hiro (尋) (= 32 meters) in length and four hiro (尋) (= 8.5 meters) in width and height.

The fleet was loaded with rice, saké, damask silk, cotton, grain, white and crystalized sugar, sandalwood, iron ore. These commodities were meant for barter with silk, plate iron, cloth of Manila rope, gold and silver coins. Gold and silver coins, in Denbei's words, are minted only in 'Meako' (都) and 'Jendo' (江戸). And the tycoon lives alternately in either cities.

In December 1695 (元禄八年) The fleet set sail from Osaka for the city of Edo ('v gorod Jendo'), at a distance of 700 vërst 露里 (747 kilometers).

The ship was caught by a storm, and after six months' drifting in the open sea northward, the crew made a narrow escape to a land of the Kamchatka, but the ship was destroyed, and the commodities were robbed off or discarded by the assaulting natives, and Denbei, a clerk, and ten other sailors were narrowly spared their lives.^{fn.6}

In due course of time Denbei was convoyed up to Moscow all the way from the Kamchatka, and he reached the capital toward the end of December 1701.^{fn.7}

3. Denbei's Ordeal : Shipwreck and Survival (2) :

Denbei recounted the shipwreck and his subsequent ordeal for survival in the Hearing which had been given him in Moscow in January 1702.^{fn.8}

The abridgment of Denbei's Hearing follow.

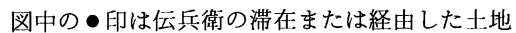
"Assaulted by a storm the fleet was scattered, and his ship, crew of fifteen, was being blown by the westerly gale for the first month ; then the ship was obliged to cut down the sail mast to prevent the capsizing and shipwreck. Denbei's ship lost two sailors while engaging

fn. 6. 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告1792年1月, モスクワのシベリヤ庁で」村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40 (1965), pp. 8-9. (1-17 pp.) & in N.N. Ogloblin, "Pervyi Yaponets v Rossii v 1701-1710 gg." (The First Japanese in Russia in 1701-1710), *Russkaya Starina*, Spb., Oct. 1891: 11-24.

(The original record is stored in the Department of Siberia. Nr. 1282: leaf: 79-83) Quoted in 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 3 & p. 16 (for Biblio., fn. 3) & also in Ogloblin, "Dbe {Skaski} V. Atlasova ob Otkrytii Kamchatki," (Two Stories of V. Atlasov's Discovery of the Kamchatka) *Chiteniya v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete. (Readings of the Imperial Society of History and Russian Antiquity at Moscow University* 1891, kn. 3, pp. 1-18. also in L.S. Berg, *Otkrytie Kamchatki i Ekspeditsii Beringa*, (The Discovery of the Kamchatka and Bering's Expedition) 3-e izd. L., 1946, pp. 159-167.

fn. 7. 播磨権吉「漂流伝兵衛物語」『月刊ロシア』vol. 4 (1938), Nr. 1, p. 178.

fn. 8. 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリヤ庁で)」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, pp. 8-17.



in cutting the mast in the roaring sea. The ship was now drifting at the mercy of a storm over the waves of the sea, and after six months' ordeal of thirst, hunger and fear, Denbei's ship was swept on to the land of the Kuriles to the south coast of the Kamchatka in early summer in 1696 (元禄九年).^{fn.9.}

They found a river and traced it upstream, when a native came up to them. Denbei gave him a letter hoping to get an answer for it. But it so happened that the natives had had no alphabet letters for their vernacular ; so they took the letter off Denbei's hand, and they eventually disappeared.

The next morning the Japanese were espied by some twenty Kuril-Kamchadals aboard four boats, and at night the natives attacked the shipwrecked Japanese by 40 boats manned with 200 native Kamchadals. They drew the bows and shot the arrows to the Japanese, while they started on demolishing the stranded ship with stone axes and bone-made battle axes.^{fn.10.}

They had struck dead two of the crew who been blinded probably from scurvy during the dreadful drifting, and Denbei got hurt in the finger of his left hand by the arrow.

When Denbei and his fellow saw the natives launching for attack, they took out from the ship, damask silk, cotten textiles and hardware, and offered these in tributes for their lives. The Kamchadals grabbed off silk, cotton and hardware from the crew's hands, but they snuffed at rice and sugar, finding no smell in them, and then they also snuffed at *Saké* (酒) ; there were 500 casks of *Saké* ; the natives broke the taps off the casks of *Saké*, and smelled it, and they threw away sugar and rice, and poured 500 casks of *Saké* into the sea, but they took the empty casks off ashore for the containers, because they had no containers as such.^{fn.11.}

The Kurile-Kamchadals store fish in a peculiar way. Fish is thrown into the pit and covered with grasses and twigs ; when fish has become fermented, the natives put them in a cask and pour water over it, and then they throw heated pebbles into the cask to warm it up ; finally they add poisonous mashrooms to the beverage and drink it. They invite relatives and get dead drunk. Denbei and his fellow could not bring themselves to eat the natives' food, and they nibbled off roots and barks of trees and grasses, and ate unfermented fishes.^{fn.12.}

Denbei and remaining crew of ten had lived for about a month with the Kurile-Kamchadals,

fn. 9. *ibid.*, p. 8. & p. 10.; also p. 16, fn. 1.

fn. 10. Denbei's ship was stranded on the mouth of the river Opala, south of the Bol'shaya river. (高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 51. cf. map attached).

fn. 11. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 41. & 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告(1792年1月, モスクワのシベリア庁で)」p. 9. & also in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 69.

fn. 12. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 42. & 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告(1792年1月, モスクワのシベリア庁で)」『漂流民の言語』1953, p. 9.

when a Kuril took him away off from his fellows.^{fn.13.}

On Denbei's testimony, the Kamchadals said : "People came aboard a (sail) boat and landed on the Kurils' territory, and carried away your remaining fellows off the sea." Denbei had no idea whether the crew of the (sail) boat had been. "From Japan ? or they were the Chinese people." (Russ. "Yponskie zemli ili Kitaiskie lyudi")^{fn.14.}

4 . Denbei's Succor, Vladimir Vasil'evich Atlasov (1661, 64 ? -1711)

When Denbei had lived with the Kamchadals for a year, he was found by Vladimir Atlasov (1661(64)-1711), who had reached the river Anaduil in August 1695. In 1696 Atlasov sent Luka Semënov syn Morozko, a Yakut Cossack, with fifteen Koroieiks to the river Opuka.^{fn.15.} (The river Opuka flows into the Bering Sea aproximately at 62.N.Lat.),

However Luka Morozko penetrated as far south as the river Tigil,^{fn.16.} and he attacked the Kamchadals' stockade on the river Tigil ; he took hold of "an unknown document" which later was found to be Denbei's longhand letter that Denbei had handed to the native Kamchadals when he had met them for the first time in the upstream of the river Opala on the southern coast of the Kamchatka.^{fn.17.}

Vladimir Atlasov, ataman of the Cossaks, whom Pushkin had extolled as "Ermark in kamchatka,"^(fn.18) had started on an exploratory expedition of the Kamchatka from December 1696, and had been engaged in it through 1699.

Having sent Luka Morozko's platoon, Atlasov in his turn started on 14 December 1696 from Anadyr' stockade with 60 subordinates and 60 Yasak Yukagils, with only 38 remaining on

fn. 13. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 42. & 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリア庁で)」『漂流民の言語』1953, p. 9. & also in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5年, p. 69. & p. 78, (fn. 4. 堀竹雄「元禄享保年間のロシアに於ける日本人」『史学雑誌』vol. 25, Nr. 12, pp. 1111-1130.)

fn. 14. 高野明 *op. cit.*, 1971, p. 51. & 村山七郎 *art. cit.*, (「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリア庁で)」『漂流民の言語』1953, p. 9.

fn. 15. L.S. Berg, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkikh Geograficheskikh Otkrytii*, 1946, p. 90. & in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 21.

fn. 16. L.S.Berg, *op. cit.*, 1946, p. 90.

fn. 17. 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリア庁で)」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, pp. 8-9. P. 16, fn. 2. & 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 69. & also in 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, pp. 40-41.

fn. 18. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 52 & in オリガ・ベトロワ (高野明 訳・注)「ロシア最初の日本学者アンドレイ・ボグダーノフと彼の弟子, 日本人ゴンザ」『ソヴェート文学』vol. 3 (1965) fn. 2. pp. 175-176, (Pushkin (A.S. 1799-1837) read S.P. Krashennikov's (1711-1755) *Opisanie Zemli Kamchatki* (M., 1756) (Description of the Land of the Kamchatka) in which was described Atlasov's pioneering exploration of the Kamchatka, which might have reminded Pushkin of Ermark (Timofeevich, ?-1585), who had also started on the first expedition of the West Siberia in 1581, and by 1583 he conquered the West Siberian domain of Khan Kuchum.(Mackenzie, *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union*, 1987, pp. 171-172.)

garrison duty. He rode on reindeers for two weeks down the western coast of the Kamchatka, and reached the river Penzhina on 13 January 1697, and from there he turned eastward for the Pacific Ocean.

On 1 February 1697 Atlasov reached the settlement of the native Kolyak-Olyutors who had lived by the river Olyutor.^{fn.19.}

Here Atlasov divided his expeditionary group into two parties. He ordered one party to follow the coast of the Kamchatka southward, and he himself took the command of the other party, and rode down the western coast to the river Palan, which empties itself into the Okhotsk Sea on 59° North Latitude. And from there he got to the mouth of the river Tigil, and at last he reached the river Kamchatka on 18 July 1697. There the Russians for the first time encountered the Kamchadals. From the Kamchatka river Atlasov pushed his way southward along the western coast of the Kamchatka Peninsula, and reached the river Golygina (south of Bol'sheretsk), where lived the Kuriles. From the mouth of this river (52'10 N.Lat.) Atlasov "looked on something like an island over the sea."^{fn.20.}

The island was in fact the Alaid (Mt. 2339m), the northernmost island of the Kurile Islands.^{fn.21.}

From the river Golygina Atlasov returned to the Anadyr' outpost on 2 July 1699 by way of the river Icha. This was the Russians' first discovery of the Kamchatka.^{fn.22.}

5 . Denbei's Encounter with Atlasov

When Atlasov reached the river Golygina (52'10 N.Lat.) he knew that in the Kamchadal village by the river "Nana" (a tributary of the river Kamchatka ?) a prisoner 'Rusaak' (Russian) was in custody.^{fn.23.}

Atlasov rescued Denbei from the Kamchadals' custody to his camp of the Icha river, and he learned with the help of a Koroeik, interpreter, that this prisoner had hailed from the country of "Uzaka" under the sovereignty of India. In fact Denbei might have said : "I am a man of Osaka, and Osaka was governed by Edo."^{fn.24.}

Atlasov left Icha for the wintry outpost at Anadyr taking Denbei with him, and they got there on 2 July 1699.^{fn.25.}

fn. 19. Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 91. & 加藤久祚『西域・シベリアータイガと草原の世界ー』1970. pp. 26-27.

fn. 20. Berg, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-91.

fn. 21. *ibid.*, p. 91. & 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

fn. 22. Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

fn. 23. 高野明, *op. cit.*, 1971, pp. 50-51. & also Berg, *op. cit.*, p. 97. & in 村山七郎「伝兵衛に関するロシアの記録と17世紀末の大阪方言」『漂流民の言語』昭40, p. 5.

fn. 24. 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリヤ庁で)」『漂流民の言語』昭40, p. 5.

The Kamchadals said that Denbei was an aristocrat who had hailed from the country of "Uzaka" under the reign of the emperor of "Jendo".^{fn.26}

After two years' life with the natives –the Kamchadals and the Koroieiks–, Denbei came over and lived with Vladimir Atlasov on his own because Denbei had been for long nauseated with the native's unpalatable food of rotten fish and roots of grass and trees, and in fact two of his fellows had been sick with the rotten food and died from hunger.^{fn.27}

At first Atlasov talked with Denbei with the aid of the Koroek interpreter, and after a life together for some time with this shipwrecked Japanese Atlasov found that Denbei had hailed from "Ossaka" of the "Jendo" government. (Russ. "On-dze Uzakinskogo gosudarstva, a to-dze gosudarstvo pod Indeiskim tsarstvom.") (He is from Usaka's government, and the latter kingdom is under the reign of 'Jendo')^{fn.28}.

After having lived with Atlasov for the ensuing two years Denbei started for Yakutsk from Anadyr' and reached there on 2 July 1699. From there accompanied by Aslasov Denbei trudged along in a snow-frozen trail in a pair of snowboots for six days, and when they reached Liski, Denbei's feet got swollen, and he had to be carried back to Simovia in Anadyr' by Postonikov, another cossack chieftain, whom Atlasov had happened to meet on the way.^{fn.29}

Atlasov entrusted Postonikov with 35 skins of red fox for the expenses of Denbei's prospective transfer to Yakutsk.^{fn.30}

And in 1699 Atlasov managed to have Denbei sent up to the outpost at Jakutsk, and then in due course of time Denbei was escorted by Soflonëv, Cossak chieftain, to Moscow toward the end of December 1701. And Soflonëv reported at the Department of Siberia of Denbei's arrival on 29 December 1701.^{fn.31}

It was seventh year of Denbei's tragic ordeal of sea and land from the time when his ship had set sail from the port of Osaka to Edo in 1695.^{fn.32}

6 . The Portrait of Denbei

As Denbei was the first Japanese who had landed on the mainland of Russia he was officially inquired at the Siberian Department in Moscow in January 1702. There and then it

fn. 25. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 52.

fn. 26. 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』(第50号:昭和27年7月号, 1952), p. 27.

fn. 27. 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭40, p. 9. & in 高野明 *op. cit.*, p. 51.

fn. 28. 村山七郎 *op. cit.*, p. 5.

fn. 29. P.J.von Strahlenberg, *An Historico-Geographical Description of the North and Eastern Parts of Europe and Asia*, London, 1738, p. 462. Quoted in 高野明「“ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛”補遺」『日本歴史』(第59号:昭和28年4月号, 1953,) p. 35 & p. 36.&高野明『日本とロシア』p. 52;

fn. 30. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 52.

fn. 31. 播磨檜吉「漂流民伝兵衛物語」『月刊ロシア』vol. 4 (1938), Nr. 1, p. 178.

was found that he was not an Indian but a Japanese.^(fn.33) He gave a detailed account of the shipwreck, of the life with the Kamchadals, and of his home country.^(fn.34)

Denbei was a handsome youth with a superb Greek nose, and he was lean and looked like a Greek. He had a reasonable command of Russian, (Russ. 'Govrorit nemnogo po russkii'; "speaks a little Russian."). His hair was black and glossy, and he wore a stubbed moustache. He was courteous and intelligent, and he is literate.

He had worked for the law court in Japan as a clerk. And he had a book with him which was written in Japanese.^(fn.35) Late Mr. Takano surmises that the book was made of covered bind, and stitched in a style of Edo period. (江戸の和綴)^(fn.36)

And when Denbei saw our icons^(fn.37) he wept bitterly and said that he had had such a painting and stature of God in his home country.^(fn.38)

In spite of some incongruencies Denbei's Hearing was the first information of a native Japanese on his own country. Denbei put his signature on the Hearing.^(fn.39)

fn. 32. 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリヤ庁で)」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 16.

fn. 1. (Bruno Lewin, "Der erste authentische Bericht über Japan in russischen Archiven," *ORIENS EXTREMUS*, 5, Jahrgang 1958, S. 108.)

(Lewin contends that shipwrecked Denbei landed on the Kamchatka in 1696. He translated "Denbei's testimony" into German, "Denbei aus der Stadt Asakka auf das Meer ging, ist jetzt sieben Jahre her." But Denbei's original is as follows: "A kak on, Denbei, iz goroda Asakka na more poshël tomu nyne sed' moi god." (italics mine)."

Bruno's translation is "seven years have passed," while the original Russian passage means "on the seventh year." As it is, Denbei seems to have set sail from Osaka in 1695 (元禄八年) cf. also E.Ya. Fainberg who agrees with Mr. Murayama for the year 1695. (*Russko-Yaponskie Otnosheniya v 1697-1875 gg.* (Russo-Japanese Relations in 1697-1875) M. 1960. Quoted in Kutakov, *Rossiya i Yaponiya*, 1988, p. 370 (Biblio. Nr. 282.)

fn. 33. 村山七郎「伝兵衛に関するロシアの記録と17世紀末の大阪方言」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 6.

fn. 34. *ibid.*, p. 4.

fn. 35. *ibid.*, p. 4. & p. 6. & 高野明『日本とロシア』p. 52. also in 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』1952, p. 27. 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 6. & also in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 67. & p. 78, fn. 2. (G.F. Müller, *Sammulung Russischer Geschichte*, vol. III, p. 73.)

fn. 36. オリガ・ベトロフ 高野明 訳・注「ロシア最初の日本学者アンドレイ・ボグダーノフと彼の弟子, 日本人ゴンザ」『ソヴェート文学』vol. 3 (1965) p. 176, fn. 5 (pp.168-178)

fn. 37. The Icon is an image of Christ or the Virgin Mary, or of a saint or saints, painted to signify the presence of the subject. A strong group of 17th-century icons was painted for use in the homes of the faithful, as simple aids to Christian living; they included homely scenes and near-portraits. (s. v., "Icon," in John Paxton, *Companion to Russian History*, 1983)

fn. 38. 高野明『日本とロシア』p. 54-55. & also 高野明「"ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛" 補遺」『日本歴史』1953, p. 35.

fn. 39. cf. 本稿末, デンベいの日本報告書『スカースカ』最終ページの署名の模写「万九ひち屋／たに万ちと本り／立半んにすむ／伝兵衛」。

(Denbei was a junior proprietor of a pawnbroker's in Osaka. 「(私は) *「谷町通り立半町の質屋「万九」の(若旦那) 伝兵衛」(*現在の大府南区谷町七丁目付近). Another (variant) reading has it: 「万九ひち屋／たに万ちと本り／立川一にすむ／伝兵衛」

(「谷町通りに住む立川伝兵衛」) Here "—" is construed as a sign of terminal juncture. Quoted in 高野明『日本とロシア』pp. 54-55. & also in 高野明「日露関係史のあけぼの」『露西亜学事始』1982, p. 300.

The recorded Hearing of Denbei shows that Denbei had a fairly good command of Russian, since he had lived with Atlasov and his Cossacks for about two years.^{fn.40.}

7. Peter the Great's Interview with Denbei

Denbei in due course of time was brought to the court and presence of Peter the Great, (1672–1725 ; reigned 1682–) who had founded the city of his name on the bank of River Neva in 1703, thereby creating the “window on the West.” Peter the Great also created a powerful navy with a view to launching it over the Baltic and the North Sea to the East (the Pacific) Ocean for the wealth and power of the world beyond the border of the Muscovite kingdom.^{fn.41.}

In fact in 1725 on 6 January, three months before his death, Peter the Great wrote for himself his august order to Captain Vitus Bering (1681–1741), of Russian-Danish stock, to the effect that Bering should build (one or two) ships on a port of the Kamchatka, and commanding them to sail northward and find out “where Asia joins America.”^{fn.42.}

This exploratory voyage of Bering's resulted in his meritorious first Kamchatka expedition (1725–1743). And one of the most important missions of Bering's expedition was to find a seaward way to Japan, because the order given in St. Petersburg to captain Schpanberg (M.P. ? –1761) of Bering's fleet was “with three ships to observe and seek the way to Japan.”^{fn.43.}

Peter the Great was a most unconventional man and ruler. Six feet seven inches tall and weighing 240 pounds, he nonetheless retained qualities of a small boy ; he was a curious and keen observer.^{fn.44.}

On 8 January (or February) 1702 Peter the Great aged 30, had an intimate talk with Denbei in Preobrazhenskoe village in the suburbs of Moscow.^{fn.45.}

fn. 40. 村山七郎「伝兵衛に関するロシアの記録と17世紀末の大阪方言」『漂流民の言語』昭和40. p. 6 & 高野明『日本とロシア』p. 39. & also 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』1952, p. 27.

fn. 41. David Mackenzie & Michael W. Curran, *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union*, 1977; 1987 (3rd ed.), pp. 257–258. & Paul Dukes, *The Making of Russian Absolutism: 1613–1801*, 1982, pp. 59–60.

fn. 42. L.S. Berg, *Ocherki po Istorii Russkikh Geograficheskikh Otkrytii*, 1946, p. 93. & in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, pp. 31–32.

fn. 43. *ibid.*, p. 97. also in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 29, p. 36. & pp. 48–49. (fn. 7). Also 1. H.H. Bancroft, *History of Alaska*, San Francisco: 1886, p. 42 & ff; 2. F.A. Golder, *Russian Expansion on the Pacific, 1641–1850*, 1914, pp. 50–51. pp. also 165–166. & p. 64. (fn. 1 & fn. 2). 3. F.A. Golder, *Bering's Voyages*, vol. 1. p. 33; 4. Golder, *Russian Expansion*, pp. 220–221.

fn. 44. Mackenzie *et. al.*, *A History of Russia and the Soviet Union*, 1977; 1987, p. 258.

fn. 45. 高野明「伝兵衛の陳述」『ロシアと日本』(紀伊国屋新書 B-471) 1971. pp. 39–49. & 村山七郎「伝兵衛の行った報告 (1792年1月, モスクワのシベリヤ庁で)」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, pp. 8–18.

(Takano pinpoints the date of Peter the Great's interview with Denbei to 8 January 1702 (高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』Nr. 50 (1966), p. 27.), while Professor Murayama writes that the date was 8 February 1702. (cf. 村山七郎「伝兵衛に関するロシアの記録と17世紀末の大阪方言」『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 4.)

With a reasonable command of Russian, Denbei must have told the emperor his twicetold story, though sometimes opaquely, of all about Japan, which he had already recounted in the Hearing at the Department of Siberia.^{fn.46.}

Denbei's story to Peter the Great follows :

He said "I am Denbei, son of a merchant 'Diasa' (or 'Disa'), who had hailed from Nagasaki,^{fn.47.} and I was drifted shipwrecked to the coast of the northern Kamchatka." Denbei seems to have landed on the mouth of the river Opala to the south of Bol'shaya river.^{fn.48.}

Denbei, one of the crew of fifteen, boarded a ship of the fleet which had consisted of 30 such trade ships, and the fleet was bound for Edo江戸. The fleet set sail from Denbei's home town of Osaksa in winter toward the end of the year 元禄八年 (1695).

Having been caught by a storm the fleet dispersed. Denbei's ship was being blown by a westerly blizzard north-eastward for a week. The wind had inscrutably changed ; rose and lulled. However without a sail-mast which they had earlier cut down against capsizing, they could not steer the ship and set the course aright. Fresh water loaded at Osaka lasted them for about two months, and when drinking water was drunk empty, the crew boiled the rice in Saké (酒), and the crew also ate rice smeared with crystalized sugar.

When the wind and sea lulled, luck had it that Denbei's fellow found a tree floating in the sea, and they made a mast out of it, and spanned a sail of damask silk on it. With the use of a compass, they steered the ship towards the land of the Kuriles. When they came nearer the land from the east, they espied the land on the starboard.^{fn.49.}

Denbei and his shipmates had spent twenty-eight weeks in the ocean, and they had landed on the Kamchatka Peninsula in mid-June, and they had stayed there for six months till winter. Denbei had it :

In Japan we have a governor, that is, an emperor, he is called 'Kubo-sama' (公方様=将軍) who lives in 'Jendo' (江戸), and the senators are called ダイロサマ (大老様), and キンチュウサマ (禁中様、公家) is lower in rank and power than ダイロサマ (大老様). These magnates live in 'Me(i)ako' (都=京都). But the emperor 'Kubo-sama' (公方様=将軍) lives in 'Jendo' (江戸) and 'Dairo-sama' (内裏様) lives in 'Me(i)ako' (都=京都).^{fn.50.}

Minting of silver and gold coins is not allowed except in 'Jendo' (江戸) and in 'Me(i)ako' (都=京都).^{fn.51.}

fn. 46. N.N. Ogloblin, *art. cit.*, (cf. fn. 6) ; 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 39.

fn. 47. 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』1952, p. 438.

fn. 48. 高野明『日本とロシア』1971, p. 51.

fn. 49. 高野明『日本とロシア』p. 47. Professor Murayama, however, put forward a view that the land of the Kuriles was found 'on the larboard.' (村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 12.)

fn. 50. 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44. & 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 11.

fn. 51. 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 40. & 村山七郎 *op. cit.*, p. 10.

In the outpost of Nagasaki (長崎の出島) lives 'the Germans' (=the Dutch). There are some foreign trade being carried only in the port of Nagasaki. "The Japanese," continued Denbei, "have never fought with the foreigners, but they are able to handle a cannon and a gun." "We have a cannon but of a smaller size of one arshin (0.7 meters) or one and half arshin. Gun powder is manufactured in the country."^{fn.52.}

When Denbei was shown the book about the Japan Islands which were written in Latin, Denbei answered, "ミアコ 'Miako' (都), オサッカ 'Osakka' (大阪), イェンド 'Jendo' (江戸) are accurately shown", but "Illustrations in the book," said Denbei, "of worship of such idols as a man, a snake, animals and of other objects do not properly portray the realities in Japan."

"Illustrations of temples and other sanctuaries for worship", added Denbei, "are not authentic representations of these in Japan."^{fn.53.}

When he was inquired about God, Creator of the earth and heaven, and "where does God receive confession of his believer?" Denbei replied, "God lives one year in the earth, and the next year in the heaven. but people have never seen God. We call the gods of our reverence by various names ;^{fn.54.} アミダカミ (阿弥陀・神), トキ (佛か?), ハチマ (ン, ム) (八幡), カンノン (観音), フドー (不動), シャ・カイトヴダイ (釈迦如来か), アミダ、ニョダイ (阿弥陀如来), コージン (荒神), ジゴウ (地藏), ヤクシ (薬師), コクロ (虚空蔵か), シガチマン (滋賀八幡), コボンDOIシ (弘法大師), イシエシメイ (伊勢神明), アマグ・サモ (愛宕様 (天宮様) か), オムネグ (?).^{fn.55.}

"A Chinese in Japan is looked on as if he were a Japanese, because the objects of worship, language, letters and customs are of the same stock and stuff, and the Chinese as well as we Japanese worship the same idols of gods that are variously shaped and made of gold, silver, bronze, iron and wood," added Denbei.^{fn.56.}

Here Denbei confuses the Russian word "Kitaets" as "北 (国) の人" and, L.S. Berg construed "Kitaets" as "秋田人" in a footnote to his article. ("Otkrytie Kamchatki i Ekspeditsii Beringa." 3-e izd. 1946),^{fn.57.}

When enquired by the interviewer about the 'Kitaets' (=Russ. Chinese) who are travelling in a caravan, "Are they of the same stock with the Japanese ?" Denbei simply answered, "I don't know anything about it."^{fn.58.}

Denbei said, "There are two routes to キタイ (アキタ) (=China or 秋田 ?) by sea, and by

fn. 52. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 53. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 43.

fn. 54. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

fn. 55. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, pp. 43-44.

fn. 56. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 57. 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』pp. 10-11. p. 17, fn. 11. & 高野明『日本とロシア』p. 44.

fn. 58. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

land." Denbei himself has been to China by either of these routes.

He had been to such towns as アキタイ (秋田), クヴォタ (京都), ノシュチュロ (能代), トンガ (敦賀か) and ファイガ (兵庫).^{fn.59}

The Chinese come over to Japan by both routes of land and sea, and their commodities are corn (= rice), iron, ship timber, fish bone and ivory, while the Japanese products for trade are cotton, damask silk, Nankin cotton, gold and silver.^{fn.60}

"There are none of the Japanese who had been drifted to the land of the Kamchadals before me," said Denbei. How could he have known about it!^{fn.61}

"In my home town," Denbei continued, "Snow falls about two months ; for the first month, however, we have snow for three days, and for the second month snow falls for two days. When the north wind blows, it brings snow, but snowfall is only as deep as the length of the fingers, but snow melts away within the day of fall. We have none of these freezingly cold days. For about three months a cold wind is blowing. Rainfall is observed in summer as well as in winter. The longest of the daytime is twelve hours, and the shortest is seven or eight hours. In summer the sun moves round the zenith, and it is terribly hot."^{fn.62}

In Japan livestock are oxen, horses, pigs, and sheep. but we do not eat them. The Japanese eat goose, duck, garden fowl (鶏), as are seen in Muscovy, We have an Indian crane, and a red-legged peacock as big as an ox with white and black feathers. A big fish of two 'serzhens' (4.27 meters) lives in the sea, and a roach (鮒) abounds in a lake. Fishes are not found in rivers, because of the high temperature of the water. The sea abounds in a small fish like a Vologda trout (= a kind of salmon in a lake in the Vologda county in Muscovy). a mammal as big as an ox is hauled from the sea. "Fruits are of sweet and of sour taste, and apples are cultivated. Solochinsk corn (= rice) is also produced, but this corn is sometimes imported from 'Kitai = Akita 秋田'.^{fn.63}

The arms of Japanese warriors 武士 are a gun, a spear and a sword. The high-ranking Samurais 侍 wear a pair of swords girdled on the loins, but they do not fight among themselves. Carrying of guns and pistols are prohibited to the merchants, but they are permitted to possess firelock and a spring gun in their homes.^{fn.64}

Around the cities walls are build with huge blocks of rocks piled up. The wall is as thick as one or one and half arshin (71-106 centimeters), and its height is 10 'sazhen' (21.34 meters), and houses are build of wood, plaster, iron and straw ropes ; pilars are erected, and padded

fn. 59. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 60. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 61. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 10. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 43.

fn. 62. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 11.

fn. 63. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 11. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 64. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 12. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 45.

and strengthened with iron plates and clay, which is made of fodder kneaded with mud and water.^{fn.65.}

Shrines and temples are coated with iron, bronze, but the temples and shrines of the emperor, of the Shogun and of the lords of the Shogunate clan are coated with decorative gold.^{fn.66.}

Japanese tablewares are made from silver, bronze and of porcelain. Porcelains are made from mixture of mashed sea shell kneaded with clay. The mixture has long been buried in the earth and then porcelains are made from it.^{fn.67.}

The Japanese do not go abroad, but the foreigners come in the port of Nagasaki in a trading ship loaded with woolen cloth and other commodities, and they had houses built in Nagasaki and live there. Other cities are not opened to any foreigners for trade and commerce.^{fn.68.}

A Japanese ship is not fitted with a canopy for protecting loaded commodities. When caught by storm we have to cut a sail mast, and cover the load with a cloth coated with fish oil.^{fn.69.} When huge waves pitch and roll the ship, and the water comes pouring into the hull, and the ship has to be buoyed up, then we throw off overboard Saké casks and other heavy loads to prevent the water gushing into a ship's hold. Lack of the mast, however, would result in months of dirfing in the ocean.^{fn.70.}

In Japan there are 12 months for the year, and four weeks (28 days) for the month, but 13 months and 29 days also occur. The year begins in winter. Denbei had had no knowledge about Batavia, Formosa 台湾, and Kanton 広東, and also he was not informed of the Jesuits and Catholic missionaries in Nagasaki and othe localities in Japan. Christ's cross is nowhere found, and Christianity is strictly banned.^{fn.71.}

Japanese clothes are like those of Kamchadals and of the Chinese, but clothes for winter wear are sewn from cotten textiles.^{fn.72.}

Japan is rich in gold and silver, and produces damask silk, Nankin cotton (南京木綿). Nobody stores and wears pearls and jewelry.^{fn.73.}

Currencies of Japan : a copper coin is called 'Zheni' ジェニ (銭). and looks like a Russian kopeika ; silver currency is called Ginn ギン (銀) which looks like Moscow zorochnik (in the old weight unit = 4.267 gram), and is worth fifty 'Zhenis'. Atlasov had taken one piece of 'Ginn' ギ

fn. 65. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 11. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 44.

fn. 66. 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 46.

fn. 67. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 12 & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 46.

fn. 68. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 12 & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 46.

fn. 69. 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 47.

fn. 70. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, pp. 12-13. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 46.

fn. 71. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, pp. 12-13. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 47.

fn. 72. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 13. & 高野明 *ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

fn. 73. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 13. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 48.

ン (銀) with him up to Moscow. In addition to copper and silver coins we have a gold coin, 'Kovanyi' 小判; the size is similar to Efimok coin (the old 50 copeek), and it is as thick as Moscow copeika. 'Kovanyi' is worth forty 'Ginns', and a large-sized gold coin is called 'Uvan' 大判; the 'Uvan' is as wide as two vershök (6.20 centimeters), and it is worth four 'Kovanyi' 小判. Further, 'Ichimu' イチム (一分金か) is a small-sized gold coin, and it is worth ten 'Ginn' 銀.^{fn.74.}

In the Kuriles' land the Kamchadals robbed the shipwrecked Japanese off two boxes of small-sized gold coins (一分金?), which had weighed about two *pud* (32.76 kilogram), but they did not know the value of gold, and gave the coins to their kids for a toy."^{fn.75.}

Denbei : The First Japanese Teacher

In response to Denbei's entreaty to have him sent back to Japan, Peter the Great promised him to have him return home only after he had mastered Russian, so that he could have taught Japanese to three or four Russian boys.^{fn.76.}

On 16 April 1702 Peter the Great issued an edict to send around Denbei from the Siberian Department to the Artillery Department, with a purpose of having teach him Japanese to Russian pupils. This edict on Denbei was included in the famous Edict which was promulgated on the same day (16 April 1702) to the effect that the Emperor Peter would invite foreigners to import the culture of the West Europe to Russia.^{fn.77.}

At about the same time Peter the Great feared that Denbei's death would end the school, and he dispatched an order to the Siberian Department (to the Yakutsk branch) so that they might send over a prospective shipwrecked Japanese to St.Petersburg.^{fn.78.}

A foreign language school had already been underway in the Foreign Department in Moscow, and after the transfer of the capital to the city of St.Petersburg (founded in 1703) the first Japanese language school was opened with Peter the Great's Edict dated October 28 in 1705 in

fn. 74. 村山七郎 *ibid.*, p. 13. & 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 48.

fn. 75. 高野明『日本とロシア』pp. 48-49. & 村山七郎『漂流民の言語』昭和40, p. 13. & also in 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 69. Also in 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』Nr. 50 (1952), p. 27. & also in 播磨権吉「漂流伝兵衛物語」『月刊ロシア』vol. 4 (1938), Nr. 1, p. 184.

fn. 76. 高野明「“ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛”補遺」『日本歴史』vol. 59 (1953), pp. 35-36. & also in 高野明『日本とロシア』pp. 52-53. Also, Ogloblin, *art. cit.*, 1891, Nr. 10:16-24. & V.V. Bartolid, *La Découverte de L'Asie*, Paris, 1947, p. 229.

fn. 77. 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, pp. 70-71. & in 高野明『日本とロシア』, 1971, p. 52. Also in 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』1952, pp. 27-28.

fn. 78. 播磨権吉「漂流伝兵衛物語」『月刊ロシア』vol. 4 (1938), Nr. 1, p. 178. In 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, pp. 70-71. also in 高野明「“ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛”補遺」『日本歴史』1953, pp. 34-35. & G.A. Lensen, "Early Russo-Japanese Relations," *Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 10, Nr. 1, 1950, p. 9. (Quoted in 高野明 *ibid.*, p. 36.)

the Petersburg Maritime-mathematical School, when Denbei had been learning Russian for three years and six months. Denbei was duly promoted to be lecturer of the first Japanese language school in Russia, which was to last until 1816, when there were no pupils recruited majoring in Japanese.^{fn.79.}

Peter the Great issued his Imperial Edict dated 28 October 1705, in which Peter ordered Aleksander Archillovich Artillery General and Bryusov, Artillery Major-general, to select young cadets and have them learn Japanese language.^{fn.80.}

Peter the Great took such avid interest in the progress of Denbei's Japanese school that soon on 28 October in 1705 Peter ordered Major-General Ya.V. Bryusov to report the progress of Denbei's learning of Russian. And added : "Did the pupils learn his language and characters ? How many of them have mastered ? Or are they learning the language yet ?"^{fn.81.}

Denbei's salary was five kopeek for a day, and later his salary was raised to 10 kopeek at about 1710 when Peter the Great came to Moscow. Denbei was able to personally meet Peter the Graet again on this occasion, and he filed a petition to the emperor for his return to Japan, but Peter the Great did not permit it but ordered Earl Gagalin to have Denbei christened.^{fn.82.}

Denbei was baptized in 1710 and christened Gabril, and now he could not but abandon for good his hope to get back to the home country, and all the more so because the way to Japan had not been known to Peter's Muscovite kingdom^(fn.83), and it was not until 22 June 1739 that a captain, Martin Schpanberg, cast an anchor of his ship, Arkhangel Miikhail, off the coast of Kinkazan 金華山 and happened to get in touch with a couple of Japanese of the place.^{fn.84.}

At about 1719 another shipwrecked Japanese, Sanima, from Matsumaé (松前の三右衛門) joined Denbei as an assistant, but they had been on bad terms, and Denbei died earlier than Sanima. The date of Denbei's demise is unknown.^{fn.85.}

*I express my heartfelt thanks to late Professor Kamei Takayosi (亀井高孝) for the map for

fn. 79. 高野明「“ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛”補遺」『日本歴史』1953, p. 35.

fn. 80. 田保橋潔『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, pp. 70-71. & in 高野明『日本とロシア』, 1971, p. 52. Also in 高野明「ロシアにおける日本語学校と伝兵衛」『日本歴史』1952, pp. 27-28.

fn. 81. I. P. Ivanov, "Rasporyazheniya Petra Velikogo ob Obuchenii v Rossii Yaponskomu Yazyku" (Peter the Great's Order of Learning Japanese Language in Russia) *Vestnik Imperatorskogo Russkogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva*, Ch. 8, kn. 3, Otd. VIII, Spb., 1853. Quoted in Kutakov, 1988, *op. cit.*, p. 55 & p. 367. (Biblio. Nr. 210)

fn. 82. 播磨檜吉「漂流伝兵衛物語」『月刊ロシア』vol. 4 (1938), Nr. 1, p. 178.

fn. 83. *ibid.*, p. 184.

fn. 84. 田保橋潔「スパンベルグの日本探検」『近代日本外国関係史』昭和5, p. 55.

fn. 85. 村山七郎「伝兵衛に関するロシアの記録と17世紀末の大阪方言」『漂流民の言語—ロシアへの漂流民の方言学的貢献』昭和40, p. 5. (pp. 1-17.)

Denbei's travel (p. 74), the original of which is inserted in his book entitled *Daikokuya Kodayu* (『大黒屋光太夫』 東京：吉川弘文館 昭和39).

I am also grateful to late Professor Takano Akira for a copy of Denbei's longhand zerographic reproduction, which appeared in his article 『日露関係史のあけぼの』 (Dawn of Japano-Russian Relations) in the book of collected articles entitled 『露西亜学事始』 日本ディタースクール出版部 p. 301. (昭和57, 350 pp)

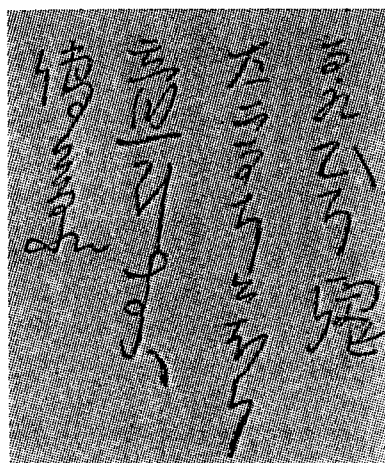
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万九ひち屋
たに万ちと本り
立川一にすむ
伝兵衛
(と解読できる)



デンベいの日本報告書『スカースカ』最終ページ署名の模写